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sarily exist in the mind of the native. More specifically our subjects are the beliefs concerning what may loosely be called the spirits of the living and the spirits of the dead. Out of the confused mass of evidence we may extricate two propositions, and set them down definitely as a groundwork. (1) Of every creature and thing there is a 'spirit' or immaterial counterpart called *asisi*. (2) Every human being survives death, and the entity which thus survives, whatever its form, is called a *sovai*.[1] These two propositions are matters respectively of native philosophy and religion. We shall continue here to discuss the first, and shall reserve the second until the next chapter.

The Meanings of Asisi

The word *asisi*[2] is, I believe, in general use. One hesitates to lay down its literal meaning, but it is used for 'shadow', and for 'reflection', and these are the simplest of its meanings and probably fundamental. There is thus far no psychic implication in the word. Shadows and reflections are ordinary phenomena to the Orokaiva, which he observes and accepts without beating his brains for an explanation. But there are other manifestations which take a rather more psychic turn. Such are the appearance of human and other beings in dreams and visions, and to these the name *asisi* is extended without, of course, implying that they are identical with shadow or reflection. In this connexion *asisi* stands for the immaterial counterpart which is visible. In so far as the native bothers to form a theory of dreams (*eture*), he says that in his sleep he may be visited by *asisi*, or, on the other hand, that his own *asisi* may travel.[3] It is not necessary to give examples of dreams, but merely to repeat that in them the *asisi* is regarded as the immaterial but visible counterpart of the person or thing dreamt of.

But when, in the native's dream theory, the *asisi* of the

[1] For other dialectal forms see p. 267.

[2] In the 'Taro Cult' (Report No. 6 in *Orokaiva Magic*), which dealt with a movement originating among the Binandele, the Binandele form *atiti* was used throughout. *Asisi*, in accordance with the rule adopted in this book, is the Aiga form.

[3] It is also said that a man's *eye* travels as he dreams, though there is, of course, no notion of a material eye-ball passing through the air.

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dreamer travels, it is not necessarily implied that it is visible, and this brings us to another meaning of the word, and necessitates a widening of definition. We may say that the *asisi* is an immaterial entity, not necessarily visualized, but identified with, or acting as substitute for, some person, in this case the dreamer. Thus when Dasiga, the visionary of Manau,[1] received his commandments, it was his *asisi* that went up into the sky and saw God, and such a use of the word is not due to any external suggestion, as, e.g. of Christianity, but is typical of Orokaiva usage. Dasiga does not have a cut-and-dried theory for a 'soul' which leaves his body for the time being as a mere inanimate clod while it travels the skies; he believes that he himself ascended in immaterial form. His *asisi* is merely a substitute for himself in Dasiga's own mind; for he has never thrashed the matter out and formulated a definite theory of body, soul, and spirit. Such a conception is not limited in reference to human beings. Animals and inanimate objects may also have their *asisi*. When, for instance, a hunting magician feels a certain sensation in his right side, 'like the kicking of an unborn puppy in its mother's belly', he says that it is the *asisi* of a pig which has entered him. We must not press him too closely for a definition of the form of *asisi*. He has not thought this out and he cannot explain. He thinks that the pig has come to him in some form or other, altogether immaterial unless it be for that slight throbbing in his side. Again, when a mourner declares that the *asisi* of the dead is immanent in the mourning jacket of *baja* (Job's Tears), he has no definite idea of how it got there or of what form it takes, except that it is obviously both immaterial and invisible.

The best example of the reference of *asisi* to inanimate nature is found in the doctrines of the Taro Cult, whose originators were possessed by the *asisi* of the *ba*, or taro, itself. And it is instructive to note, as illustrating the confused conception of the form of the *asisi*, that the originator of the cult saw the spirits of the actual taro plants in the shape of young men who danced before him.

[1] See 'Taro Cult' in *Orokaiva Magic*, pp. 74 ff.

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southern Orokaiva (*vide* Chapter XII; among the southern tribes they are called *embabi* or *siango*). They are supposed to pursue their victims, biting and clawing them, and it is with threats of this kind that the initiates are supposedly reduced to terror.

As fiend or hobgoblin the *sovai* appears in a number of cases which deserve a fuller description than it is possible to give them here. They are cases in which an individual under the influence of some mental aberration 'takes to the bush' under the impression that he has been seized or kidnapped by a *sovai*. We have, for instance, the case of a youth who was missing during the day and found at evening with cuts on his cheek and hand and traces of earth on his face and body. He offered the explanation that he was taken by a *sovai*, who caused the wounds by biting him. No one hesitated to believe him, though, as he was accustomed to fits of violence and was known to fall into the fire on occasion, we should probably be right in supposing him to be epileptic.

There is another case which may perhaps be diagnosed simply as one of sleep-walking. A man named Ogomeni was discovered to be missing one night, and a search party discovered him sitting on the branch of a tree whence he gave them muffled answers to their calls, and from which he was helped down in a half-awake condition. On another occasion the same man was spearing fish when suddenly the poised spear was snatched out of his hand from behind, and he was carried off in a swoon. A search party eventually found him lying covered with leaves, and not far from home. His explanation was that he had been seized by a *sovai*, and fully accepting this as a fact his rescuers tied a liana to his belt on the way home to prevent a repetition of the capture, and once safely in his house he allowed his wife to make him fast by means of the liana to one of the floor joists. Ogomeni seemed a perfectly rational man, and it should be emphasized that the precautions of his wife and friends were not meant to keep him in his place but were levelled against the *sovai*.

It is not necessary to multiply instances. It is true that

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Time and again was Buninia visited by the same spirits in his dreams. Sometimes they left him the large knitted bags, called *ase*, which are used for carrying taro ; sometimes the special kinds of pots and dishes in which the taro was to be cooked ; sometimes the wooden prong or fork with which it was to be eaten. All these things he showed to his people and instructed them in their proper use. So also he taught them the dance and the various other elements, trivial enough, of the new religion.

But all this did not happen at once. Buninia volunteered the very significant information that from his youth up he had been subject to shaking-fits, some mild kind of seizures, which were not seriously regarded by his friends. According to his own view—about which he was entirely confident—these seizures had been caused from the beginning by the taro spirits in possession of his body, but he had not realized this until it all became clear through his dream.

What might be called the inauguration of the cult occurred at Taututu. Buninia was sitting quietly with his lime-pot in his lap and enjoying a little stimulant, when suddenly he found himself again attacked by one of his paroxysms. This time he began to shout, '*Ba, ba, ba!*' i.e. 'Taro, taro!' His brother, one Oriva, ran to his assistance, no doubt much alarmed, but Buninia dispatched him to call together all the neighbouring villages. People flocked to the scene from Deboi, Duvira, Tsia, and Bebewa. The new prophet continued to shake violently. As the people watched him they one and all fell into the same condition. Buninia harangued them and expounded the doctrines of the taro spirits. He fixed his attention in particular on his friend Yaviripa, and cried shame upon him for not making a feast. Meanwhile the *jipari*, or shaking-fit, continued to affect the bystanders ; but at Buninia's word they returned, temporarily at least, to their senses, and were dismissed to their villages. They all 'had the Taro', and the new cult was launched.

Similar outbreaks occurred again and again. When

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was explained by Home in the following way. As the taro approaches maturity the outer leaves should droop and fall. He desired an early ripening of this particular crop, and felt that, by breaking off some of the larger leaves here and there, he would expedite the general falling of leaves which would indicate that the tubers were ready.

Some of the medicines used by the Taro men are apparently meant, not to stimulate the taro itself, but to provoke the shaking-fit or *jipari* in the Taro man. It may perhaps be felt that, by contributing in some way to the power of the latter, they contribute also, though indirectly, to the prosperity of the former. However, a Taro man of Wasida showed me, in strict secrecy, eight *jipari-kore*, or ' shaking medicines ', which were intended primarily to produce in him the condition of *jipari*. They included the amaranth (*Tumeni*) and the flame-coloured coxcomb (*Siroru*), both of them taken in the form of a cold infusion. The first, my informant said, gave him a headache.

Hovere, a wild verbena (?), and *Derega*, a very harmless-looking grass, were taken in a curiously indirect form : their seeds were burnt with lime which was subsequently taken with betel. Considering the method of lime-burning, it seems hardly possible that any effect could be produced on the lime by a few grass seeds ; nevertheless, it was claimed that *Hovere* was a strong medicine. Two others, both creepers, were said to affect the legs of the Taro man. It has not been possible to have these various plants analysed, but I venture to think the labour of analysis would be largely wasted. As the number of native medicines is already so great, and as new medicines are constantly being added to the list, and as the reason for their efficacy, where it is understood, turns out to be simply magical, one may venture to say that in the vast majority of cases there is nothing in them. Empirically the native may discover stimulant or poisonous properties in certain plants, but in nine cases out of ten—

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probably much more often—the effect which he attributes to his medicine, i.e. the *jipari*, is due to a complex of excitement, bad example, and betel-nut.

As certain medicines are prescribed for the Taro man either to increase his own power or else to be transmitted by him to the taro itself, so on the other hand there are many restrictions placed upon him for negative, but similar, reasons. He is in fact dieted with some strictness, and the reasons which govern these food taboos are worth considering. In a great majority of cases the man who observes the taboo is completely ignorant of any logical basis for it: he has learnt it by rote, so to speak, having received it as part of the cult from his instructor, and not only has he never heard a sensible argument in its favour, but, if taxed for such an argument, can think of none save *ad verecundiam*. But sometimes one meets a native with a spark of imagination. The explanations which he may give of the taboos are not necessarily the original ones, but notwithstanding they are typical native explanations, and at least as good as the original. A few examples will show what real grounds there are for the prohibitions. *Pauri*, the cuscus, is forbidden because of the yellowish colour of its fur, dappled with brown spots. Should the Taro man eat *Pauri* it is likely that the taro leaf will develop similar properties instead of keeping the rich green colour which is indicative of health. *Auja*, the red pandanus seed, and *sasaru*, a kind of frog, are tabooed for the same reason. It was explained that the frog, when cooked, is of a yellow-brown colour which is unwholesome not so much for the Taro man as for the taro. *Ambe*, or sago, was avoided in some quarters because the roots at the butt of the palm are often exposed in a way that is not desirable for the taro tuber. *Imbaga* the crocodile, *wotomo* a kind of flat fish, and *ohiti* the eel were 'too heavy'. The idea of weight seems to be associated very commonly with sickness, and it is felt that the Taro man who ate creatures in which this quality is so obviously embodied, would be endangering his power of healing.

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powers of healing. There are many more food taboos. Some of them may well enough be survivals from the *Baigona* cult (which placed a prohibition upon almost all creeping things), as they appear to have no very obvious bearing on Taro. Certain kinds of the taro itself were held to be injurious—only so, indeed, since the institution of the cult, for previously these forbidden varieties were eaten without any untoward result; Mr. Elder says they were given to his mission boys, 'who being unbelievers thrived on them'.

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The taboo upon bathing has already been mentioned. It was evidently observed with a certain strictness and, in some cases at least, a breach of the taboo meant more than the mere loss of power. One Taro man of importance gave the following explanation for a lameness in the knee which had crippled him for eight months. Having used his spear too effectively in a village fight he was removed to jail, and there, under a regimen which took no heed of his priestly obligations, compelled to cut his hair and wash the smears of mud and white ochre off his body. The unfortunate prisoner's explanation still leaves one mystified: the dirt, mud, and paint being washed off the remainder of his body, concentrated in his knee and there brought on his lameness.

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One important business of the Taro man's, viz. that of curing, will receive a fuller treatment in section 9, and is mentioned here only because it has to be included in a general list of Taro activities. A few additional matters of minor interest, however, may be referred to at this stage. One is the custom of hand-shaking. I am assured that the hand-grip was known as a form of greeting long before the advent of the new cult; but now it has become a rage. When a Taro man comes upon a number of men engaged in conversation and sitting, after their fashion, in a haphazard group on the ground,

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he will go from one to another and take the hand of each in turn. As a rule the hand-clasp is somewhat limp and unresponsive, though on occasion one may see two

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Taro men seize one another's hands in an iron grasp, and both fall into a violent paroxysm. In such cases, it is said, the knowledge that the one is possessed passes to the other with the first contact of their hands, and then, for some reason, both fall into the condition of *jipari*.

The reason for universal hand-shaking is said to be that of ensuring the friendliness of the Taro man. I have suggested that this general amity among all followers of the cult was one of its best features. It may be, however, that the basis for it is not entirely above suspicion. The explanation more commonly offered is that the spirits require all and sundry to remain on good terms with their human media, the Taro men; they may be offended and cause some illness to any one who is disrespectful or off-hand in his manner. On the whole, however, it may be the Taro man himself who is the real object of fear, and all others will see to it that they 'keep in' with him lest he do them a bad turn. The charge of sorcery will call for further discussion presently.

Lastly, there is the matter of the distinctive cries of the Taro cult. In an Orokaiva village it is the custom to welcome new-comers with loud cries, which in their origin probably signify that the intentions of the villagers are peaceable. As is well known, it was the cry of '*Orokaiva!*' which gave their popular name to the northern tribes, because the early whites heard it so often as they approached a village. Different tribes had different calls: to some the cry '*Oro!*' (which is much more commonly heard than '*Orokaiva!*') was not known until popularized by the *Baigona* cult. With the advent of the Taro cult there came into vogue a new call, '*Oroda!*' or '*Orota!*' sometimes '*Orodara!*' which has now become a shibboleth. Wherever one hears '*Oroda!*' it is safe to assume the Taro cult has penetrated. The derivative meaning of the word is matter for conjecture only. '*Oro*' means the 'men's house' in the Binandale languages, and perhaps the ultimate meaning of the word is 'men'. But we cannot assume with certainty that *oro* the men's house

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and *oro* the cry of welcome are the same words. *Oroda* appears to be simply *oro* with the associative particle *da*.

Another very quaint Taro password is '*Kia kia!*' uttered as a man is yawning, much as we would say, 'Oh dear!' No witness ever succeeded in explaining this curious custom, which, as far as I know, belongs to the Taro cult alone. It provides a good instance of the way in which details of practice are faithfully transmitted while their significance is entirely lost. A number of other Taro expressions have come into popular use in the same way. *Kasamba* and *tinogu* have been mentioned already, but there were numerous fictitious synonyms, possibly of a respectful or euphemistic character, which achieved some popularity although they were probably learned simply by rote. I am indebted to Mr. Elder for several examples: the dog (*sino*) was called *eupu*; sago (*ambe*) was called *orai*; and pigs (*pu*) were called *puyoroba*.

8. *The Jipari or Shaking-fit*

I now have to deal with what is the most disagreeable feature of the cult, viz. the uncontrolled bodily movements or paroxysms which, unfortunately, the Taro man believes to be an important part of his 'work'. These paroxysms were characteristic of the *Baigona* cult before, though they then took a form somewhat different. The word used by the *Baigona* men to describe this condition was usually *dutari*, to tremble. It might be used of the ague or shivering fit which is merely the result of cold; for instance, a youth after spending a long time in the river in pursuit of eels, was said to *dutari* when he was merely shivering violently. The expression most commonly employed for the shaking-fit of the Taro indicates a somewhat different style. *Jipari* is used of the sling (*tapai*) as it is whirled before the stone is released; also of a branch swaying or swinging in the wind. There is a certain well-known character among the Tain Daware tribe who is named Jipari. As so often among the

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Orokaiva, a nickname ousts a 'christening' name, and in this instance the nickname arose from an exploit well remembered by the hero and his friends. In a cannibal raid he was struck on the head with a stone club, but even after this experience managed to elude his enemy and rushed back to his friends. In response to their anxious inquiries, he could give no other answer for the time being than a violent shaking of the head. So, in commemoration of his signal hardihood and the manner in which his head had reacted under the blow, he was dubbed Jipari, or 'Shaker'. The movements of the shaking-fit are not confined to a jerking of the head, but since this is very characteristic, and, as far as I know, was not practised by the *Baigona* men, it has served as a distinctive name for the paroxysms of the Taro.

These manifestations should be distinguished from certain others which are more familiar. They are said by the natives to resemble madness or *yauyauri*, a term which includes everything between imbecility and a violent insanity. They are sometimes accompanied, I am told, by a swoon or trance, called *gishivi*; but the *gishivi* is of course a phenomenon well known to natives (though I have heard no explanation of it in native psychology). Thirdly, they resemble the temporary maniacal fit called *bibi*, which is said to be frequent enough, though I have seen no example of it. *Bibi* is evidently akin to the 'amok', and may be of a dangerous character. It is, however, a transient, and apparently an individual, not a collective, phenomenon.

We have already seen something of the shaking-fit among the dancers at Korisata (p. 20), but I may describe one or two definite instances in greater detail. A man named Tatiko was sitting on a verandah during a Taro feast. There was the usual amount of high spirits in the village but no sign of irrational behaviour among the others present. Without warning Tatiko began to shake violently, with a very rapid jerking of his limbs. His fists were clenched and his face contorted. The movements

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much for the forbearance of an anthropologist, and it is worth recording that this demonstration ended as quickly as it began.

On another occasion I was observing the behaviour of several *Baigona* men (of whom there are still a few in practice). They were treating a patient, and the proper climax of the treatment was reached when the sick man was raised to his feet and allowed slowly to collapse again in what were really horrifying convulsions. The three doctors threw themselves to the ground in a simultaneous fit (which, if less convincing, was more violent than that of their patient), while I kept myself especially busy with pencil and note-book, thinking I might perhaps be the next victim. Turning to my interpreter I failed to find him at my elbow, where he had been a moment previously, but finally caught sight of him at the other end of the village, where he was staggering hither and thither with half a dozen others. Called back very abruptly he said that he had been unable to contain himself; something had 'gone snap' in his head (a phenomenon which he illustrated by snapping his fingers). He was obviously upset and sorry for his lapse, and for a long time afterwards was almost speechless for shame.

The fact that these seizures may be of a collective nature is too well recognized to need elaborating. We have already seen an instance when Buninia inaugurated the cult at Taututu. Dr. Bellamy has given a description of a similar incident which has been quoted in connexion with the Vailala Madness.[1] It is in fact to this collective nature of the *jipari* that the rapid spread of the Taro cult is primarily due.

The native himself may sometimes recognize that the seizures are transmissible to the mass: 'If many men get *jipari*, then those with them are likely to get it also.' This brings us to the question of native theory upon the *jipari*. It has already been explained that the fact of communicating or transmitting the influence is recognized by

[1] *Anthropology*, Report No. 4, 'Vailala Madness', p. 13.

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the native (pp. 31, 34), though how or why it should pass from one man to another is not made clear. Independently of this communication, however, the native theory of *jipari* is one of possession. The subject is possessed by the *atiti* or spirit, either of the taro itself or of a dead man. We need not worry about the latter distinction as it has been dealt with at some length already (section 5).

The *atiti* is an immaterial thing. In common use, as has been mentioned, it means shadow or reflection. The Taro man often compares it to a breath of wind, *pupu*. It is said merely to 'come' to a man (*gumbari*); sometimes to 'strike' him (*dari*); in pidgin English it is said to 'jump up' on him. One witness explained that it entered his body and rose to his head, where it caused the violent wagging which is the most typical symptom of *jipari*. The shaking-fit is due to the immanence of the *atiti*. It is felt, not seen. Only, it would appear, in dreams or trances does one actually see the spirit of the taro or of the dead. A man may first be seized by the *jipari* and subsequently come to realize that it is a spirit which has entered him and caused it. This revelation usually comes through a dream, as it did in the case of Buninia (p. 14). In one case an informant said that his *jipari* and his dream-visit occurred simultaneously; in another the informant had slept with some taro medicine *bayoga* in his armlet, had visited in his dreams the 'village of the Taro people', and in the morning had experienced his first attack of *jipari*. But the usual sequence, and indeed the natural one, is for the apocalypse to follow the fit.

While native theory as to the cause of *jipari* seems clear enough there is no such certainty regarding the effect of it. It is quite generally professed that oft-repeated shaking makes the taro grow; indeed, an expert may go into the gardens to shake amid the vegetables with the express purpose of benefiting them. But no informant ever gave a satisfactory explanation of how this cause should operate. In so far as it is thought to aid the growth of the taro one can only compare the *jipari* to those instinctive

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bodily movements by which we sometimes seek to expedite or help out a much-desired result, though the movements themselves can have no actual effect upon it.

We may now discuss the important question of how far the *jipari* is voluntary and how far it is involuntary. In native theory there is little doubt on the matter: the genuine shaking-fit only follows, or rather accompanies, possession. In actual fact it is equally certain that some individuals are abnormal and subject to dissociation and minor seizures. Such cases of abnormality are not infrequent. Among the various Taro men mentioned by name in this report there can be little doubt that Buninia, Sihure, and Dasiga of Manau, are somewhat abnormal subjects. There are many others whom I have regarded with the same suspicion. Such men, by reason of their abnormality combined with native gullibility, come to the front in a movement like the Taro cult. They are what is roughly termed neurotic, and we need not accuse them of pretence in their strange freaks of behaviour.

But it is obvious that we cannot class all the votaries of Taro as abnormal. Over against those who are the completely helpless victims of *jipari* in any of its forms, we must set another class of those who more or less deliberately simulate *jipari*. The shaking-fit may, it appears, be successfully *resisted*, and further, it may be *relinquished*. In the first place a man may deny that he is subject to *jipari*, explaining that he is 'hard' (*ngaiba* or *okai*), or 'strong' (*koropa*—the same word is used for a warrior). One village constable, declaring—with how much truth I do not know—that he did not indulge in *jipari*, said that his head was 'as hard as a stone'. The heads of others were 'soft' (*saurapa*). But it came somewhat as a surprise when he went on to explain that the schoolboys who learnt readily were those with the soft heads. It remained doubtful whether resisting the *jipari* was with him a virtue or mere stony indifference. Another informant said it was better to be hard, he only wished he could remain as hard as he used to be. In the

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second place, one who finds continual *jipari* somewhat of a strain or a discomfort, seems able to discontinue it at will. One or two examples have been already given of 'resignations' prompted by the tiresomeness of taboos (p. 33). Another reason is the tiresomeness of the *jipari*, which is sometimes, to say the least, an ungentle pastime. Men have complained that it is 'too much like hard work', and that it gives them backache (vide also p. 67). Thus, even from the native himself, we have virtual admission that a man may submit to or resist the habit of *jipari*, and that he may retain or abandon it as he pleases. Again, many Taro men have with true native obligingness and amiability provided impromptu samples of the shaking-fit in such a whole-hearted fashion that the sham is not easily distinguished from the reality.

These considerations make it seem likely that a great deal of *jipari* is sheer counterfeit—an impression which all who see much of it will probably form. Moreover, when we consider the power, influence, and fame which attach to the Taro leaders, it is easy to imagine that many of the shrewder sort will deliberately assume the symptoms of *jipari* and will continually practise them in order to maintain their position. It is my own impression that a majority of those Taro men who *individually* fall into *jipari* from time to time are pretenders.

But we have seen that whole villages may be at times simultaneously overtaken by the shaking-fit. With the rank and file who fall victims to the *jipari* in its collective form, I believe the symptoms are largely involuntary. In the first place, the force of general and repeated example might easily have the effect of provoking such convulsions on the suggestible and somewhat ill-balanced mind of the native. In the second place, after having yielded to the temptation of *jipari*—for such I believe it would be to a native—he becomes more and more prone to indulge in it. Such somatic movements tend toward automatic reiteration until the subject is exhausted. Thus it probably happens that at a Taro festival many of the excited

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Mr. Holland informs me that the Spear men were first noticed by one of his teachers at Ambasi, near the Opi mouth. Since then the movement has spread very widely in the Dobodura and Wasida districts, but we may remember that it appears to have had its origin farther north and nearer the fountain-head of the Taro cult.

The word *diroga*, common in one form or another to all the Binandele dialects, bears a number of meanings. The fundamental idea is 'pertaining to the spirit of a *slain* man'. In districts into which the new *Diroga* cult has not penetrated, and where it is quite unknown, the word is nevertheless used for the 'spirit or ghost of the slain'. Among the various shifting conceptions of the life after death there is one (tolerably uniform) that the spirit of a man slain in battle differs from the spirits of those who succumb to sorcery or sickness. It has always this distinctive quality, that it travels aloft, not on the earth or in the water: it may take the typical forms of fruit-bat, fire-fly, or meteor; and it may be heard whistling or piping as it flits overhead in the darkness.

One or two other meanings are probably derivative. *Diroga* may stand for the *pona* or feast made by the relatives of a man *killed in fight*. Secondly, as Mr. Elder states, 'the word means vengeance or punishment'. The connexion is obvious: never a man was killed among the Orokaiva but his relatives thought of revenge.[1]

Now the *Diroga* man, like most other Taro men, is possessed by a spirit of the dead; but it is invariably the spirit of one who was slain. That is to say, a *Diroga* man is so called because he is possessed by a *diroga*. The difference is fully recognized by leading votaries of the newer cult. They point out that one who is possessed by the spirit of the taro itself or by that of a man who has died 'in his bed' may indeed be a Taro man, but he has not the qualification necessary for a *Diroga* man. One or two examples will make this qualification clear. A man

[1] *Diroga* (with a capital *D*) will stand for the *Diroga* cult; *diroga* for the spirit of the slain man.

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named Baiho was attacked by fever; he bathed, but his fever continued; then he was seized with *jipari*. He did not understand his plight until a certain *Diroga* man explained it to him. His father Parata had been killed long ago in a raid by hostile neighbours: now the *diroga* of Parata was possessing him. Subsequently Baiho received a dream-visit from his slain father, and was presented with a certain kind of Taro named *Ororı*.

Another man witnessing the dancing of a party of *Diroga* men, found himself under the influence of the shaking-fit. It was explained to him that the *diroga* of his slain brother was causing the trouble, an interpretation which a subsequent dream verified beyond question.

Another informant, possessed by the spirit of his father, likewise a true *diroga*, saw the figure of the slain man standing before him with his hands behind his back, just as the corpse of the victim is set upright with its hands bound to a pole behind it. Such instances could be multiplied. The *Diroga* man believes, or professes, with absolute consistency as far as my inquiries go, that he is possessed by the true *diroga* or spirit of a slain man.

One or two of their peculiar mannerisms may find explanation in the conception of the *diroga* itself. It used to be their habit to strike postures, looking up into the sky or into the tree-tops. This was where they hoped or pretended to see the *diroga*, who always fly overhead. A recruiter informed me that the thrusting and jabbing with spears was directed at the spirits, which may be so, though I have no verification. One characteristic gesture of the *Diroga* man is a sideways jerk of the head such as a bather makes when he wishes to shake the water out of his ear. A native has given me a somewhat grisly explanation. An *emi tataru*, i.e. one who has been done to death with the terrible *emi* or disk club, will, in his immaterial *diroga* form, be continually jerking his head to one side to clear away the blood which is clogging his ears. There is a tale, as pathetic as it is gruesome, of a lad who left his sweetheart to go with his fathers and